222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yʌt ṭomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syʌn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pismas drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hʌn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ʌn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´ṭolo kai´´iyʌn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta´ṭaiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
● [752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t‹ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

136 Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
825 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
773 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma ṭ‹´pni; wile´li ṭ‹´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ṭi´y‹ nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol‹lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'‹tawat. The bullfrog was called ‹'oi´‹ts by the Tachi, but wipel‹ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

---

[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

[P. 34 a]

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau'mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

751 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

●752

757 Headache: de'ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai'yam:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: ṭomo'luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto'kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho'sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai'y:n ho'pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

---

[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No'hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" (a possible case of rape?). Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.A.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Sukot'ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi'yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot'ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna'ha la na we·ta'
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye'wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta' puku'lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi''in or Bo''iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

[P. 35a]

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwas. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors
753 is that called poisoning, but neither it nor the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

---

[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

[P. 399]

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao'du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often [756] appeared as microcosms which they picked off the invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi'yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chumut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

[752] As an example, J.A. described the use of jimsonweed on Lu'tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

[P. 396] Chunut

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

276 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
789 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č·k, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toič·k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič·k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´wes.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Rutsanmi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237 knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534] the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pusl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya (mushrooms)) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with [262] salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal NS22

would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See P.H.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

T [P. 53b] Tubatulabal NS32
Y

796 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers
276 would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the
Y setting of broken bones; while this painful
●752 work was done during the coma, the healing,
276 which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T F.M. knew but little about the acquisition
Y of supernatural power. His few statements con-
756 form to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana'twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na'nak ma ana'telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi'':t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T
Y
[55]

539 778 825 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 located, Čoiš:šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain:c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[359] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the
776 special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[360] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
237 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[359] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[360] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

[P. 1196] Wukchumni

796 276 787 754 It was said that an evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would try to render the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

796 276 On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 584 864 This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take advantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 757 [262] Jimsonweed was well known as an anaesthetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Practures were set and bound [752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He
752 fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one
613 of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food,
[574] although visitors might send or bring food, for which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to
[237] themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭa ʻpni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ʻte luni ʻša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both [616] moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

●752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ʻša)
535 lasted for a six-day week called ču ʻlipi laka ʻn. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529
[P. 158 63 Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
276 the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then wher they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[753 18] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.---"No one up this way made it; Co·kon·k and Pus·l·l·n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

---

[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

[P. 1826] Chuckchansi

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

● [752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono^{i}." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not atrike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken [752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

756 787 Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water, then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P208a] Chukchansi

joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetx, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

There were shamans who had learned from their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

---

[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

[EP. 246b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 796 276 taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

752 Once Pao'ič broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276 At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438] The jimsonweed plants (taña ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki ʻleš and Koti ʻdiš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tušao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 247 9 Yokuts NS 25

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonːk and Pušlːlːn, who were snake doctors (te'ɛ li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya ''ːn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [762] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison.

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act.

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

799 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

REFERENCES

113 GAYTON, A. H.
1948. Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography. *Anthropological Records*, vol. 10, no. 1. Berkeley.

KROEBER, A. L.
1925. Handbook of California Indians. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 78. Washington.

LATTA, F. F.
1949. Handbook of Yokuts Indians. Bear State Books. Oildale, California.

POWERS, STEPHEN
1877. Tribes of California. *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. 3. Department of Interior, U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA